

# FEATURE ARTICLES

## My Favorite Quote

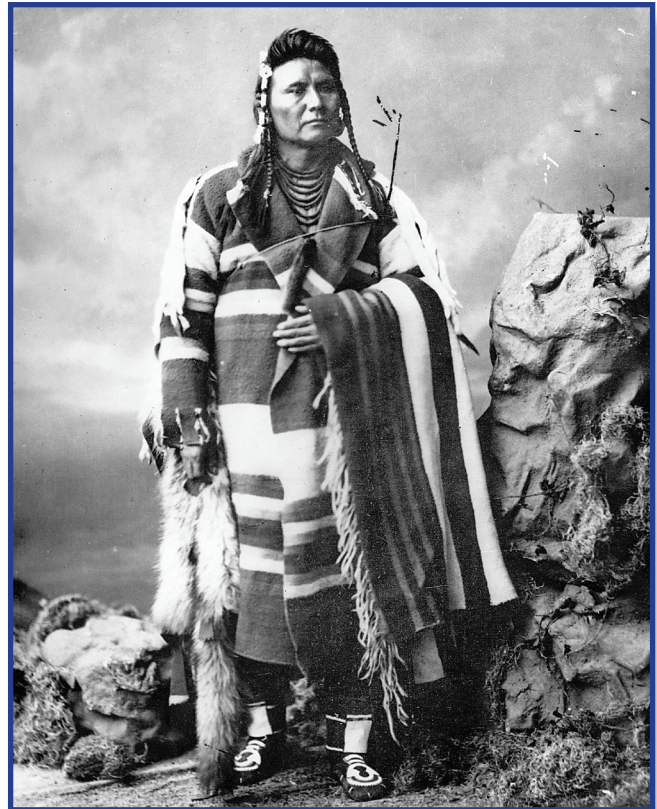
by Stephen Levin, DSPE

### **From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever!**

—Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce, October 5, 1877, the Battle of Bear Paw Mountain

With those words, Chief Joseph concluded a sad end to a sorry saga of a proud, brave and oppressed indigenous tribe of Americans, the Nez Perce of Oregon Territory.<sup>1</sup> The saga starts in 1805, long before Chief Joseph was born, with Chief Joseph's father, also named Joseph, a name he adopted after his exposure to Christianity and baptism in 1838. Once his son was born, the elder Joseph became known as Old Joseph. Unlike many other Native Americans, Old Joseph embraced the white man and not only befriended and traded with Lewis and Clark as the latter made their way west to the Pacific Coast, but also took them in and saved their lives. He set an example that was largely followed by other Nez Perce bands in seeking a peaceful coexistence with his white neighbors. That embrace lasted most of his life, to be replaced, as was the experience with most other Native American tribes, by a certain wariness as whites began to encroach upon their land and simply take what they wanted without any regard to the rights of the indigenous people already there. The white people not only disregarded the rights of the people that were there before them but also murdered any Native American that got in their way.

The Nez Perce, a nomadic tribe, historically roamed over their vast ancestral lands spanning portions of what are now the states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana, but the band of Nez Perce led by Old Joseph, the Wallowa band, typically spent the warmer months in the Wallowa Valley in the northeast corner of Oregon, astride Lake Wallowa. The



**“Chief Joseph.” (Oregon Historical Society)\***

Valley consisted of fertile soil surrounded by low mountains that made it prime farm land. White westward expansion forced Old Joseph and the other chiefs to agree to a treaty in 1855 that defined the boundaries of a new reservation consisting of millions of acres that was almost as large as the traditional, pre-treaty Nez Perce lands. This treaty gave them a reservation encompassing 7.7 million acres in present-day Oregon, Washington and Idaho. But the white man had his eye on the rest of their land, and white manifest destiny was never going to permit a bunch





**“Wallowa Valley.” Leon Werdinger Photography ([www.leonwerdinger.com](http://www.leonwerdinger.com))\*\***

of Indians to occupy vast tracts of western real estate in what is now part of four states.<sup>2</sup> Peace proved to be a fragile process for the inhabitants of the Wallowa Valley once gold was discovered in 1860, and white prospectors flooded the reservation. They couldn't care less about terms of any treaty or the Indians' sensibilities. They were followed by others that saw an opportunity to prosper from the prospectors' needs. The white intruders and the Native Americans were being propelled headlong toward an inevitable confrontation, a very violent one.

In 1863, bending again to the pressures of the new settlers, the government demanded that the Nez Perce sign yet another treaty at a new council meeting with all Nez Perce chiefs.<sup>3</sup> The government mandated that the treaty lands were now going to consist of only

780,000 acres centered around the village of Lapwai in Idaho and, notably, not including the Wallowa Valley. The treaty was agreed to by Chief Lawyer, purportedly speaking for and representing the entire Nez Perce nation, a nation made up of many bands of Nez Perce scattered throughout this territory.<sup>4</sup> Chief Lawyer's agreement to the new treaty seems to have been motivated more by the fact that his band already inhabited these new treaty lands. So despite the government's claim to the contrary, Chief Lawyer was not speaking for all of the Nez Perce bands, and the government knew, but chose to ignore, this inconvenient fact.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, Old Joseph and many other chiefs refused to agree to these new terms and the boundaries of a new reservation, which caused a rift between Chief Lawyer and his followers on the one side and Old Joseph and his allied chiefs on the other.

Old Joseph, having not agreed to a new treaty, remained on his land in the Wallowa Valley. As it turns out, he was fortunate enough to live the remainder of his life in the Valley without ever going to war with the Army.

Hin-mah-too-yah-lat-kekt, which translates to Thunder Rolling Down a Mountain, was born in 1840 in the Wallowa Valley. He was the oldest son of Old Joseph. Because he spent some of his youth educated by Christian missionaries at a reservation mission, he was well-acquainted with the ways of the white man. He assumed the leadership of the Wallowa band of the Nez Perce upon his father's death in 1871 and became known as Chief Joseph among the white men who knew him. Sensing, however, that trouble was coming, Old Joseph, on his death bed, implored his son never to surrender the Wallowa Valley to further encroachment by white settlers:

My son, this old body is returning to my mother earth, and my spirit is going very soon to see the Great Spirit Chief. Give ear to me. When I am gone, think of your country. You are the chief of these people. They look to you to guide them. Always remember that your father never sold his country. You must stop your ears whenever you are asked to sign a treaty selling your home. A few years more and white men will be all around you. They have their eyes on this land. My son, never forget my dying words. This country holds your father's body. Never sell the bones of your father and mother.<sup>6</sup>

### **Dark Clouds Forming**

The desire to honor his father informed his actions for many years until circumstances he could no longer control forced him to flee his beloved Wallowa Valley to save his people. For years, Chief Joseph stubbornly refused to

retaliate against the injustices visited upon his band by the settlers and prospectors, knowing that such retaliation would require reprisals from the US Army, engaging the tribe in a fight it could not win. He still believed, or hoped, that his concessions to the whites would eventually result in a lasting peace.

Because the Army was otherwise involved with Sitting Bull and the Lakota Sioux on the Great Plains and could not focus on an otherwise peaceful band of Nez Perce that was squatting on non-reservation lands, and because of further meetings with the government, by 1873 Chief Joseph thought his peaceful response to years of white instigation would buy him the right to be left alone. Regrettably, Joseph miscalculated the government's resolve to appease the white settlers.

By 1877, Sitting Bull had found refuge from the Army, specifically from General Oliver O. Howard, in Canada, allowing the General to turn his attention finally to the Nez Perce. The government believed he was violating the treaty by refusing to leave the Wallowa Valley that, the government argued, Chief Lawyer had signed away on behalf of all of the chiefs. Chief Joseph's resolve never to leave the land of his ancestors, his refusal to sell the bones of his mother and father, would never withstand the full might of the government, should General Howard elect to go to war. General Howard, perhaps more than any other Army General of the period, had always hoped for a peaceful resolution but made it known that he would attack Joseph if he could not convince Joseph to accept the 1863 treaty terms. He attempted to reason with Chief Joseph and had likely succeeded in convincing him that the future of his people mattered more than his promise to his father. Howard arranged to meet Joseph and his chiefs at Ft. Lapwai. Joseph sent his younger brother Ollicut and other allies, including White Bird and Chief Looking Glass.



Initially, Joseph had not attended the Council, but Howard refused to complete negotiations without Joseph, whom he regarded as the band's statesman. Howard, believing that Joseph had accepted the terms of the treaty once he did arrive at Ft. Lapwai, accompanied Joseph, White Bird and Looking Glass in a survey of the land in Idaho that was to serve as the reservation of the non-treaty Nez Perce.<sup>7</sup> Howard offered Joseph land inhabited by both whites and other Native Americans that Howard offered to remove to other lands. Joseph thought it immoral to take something that did not belong to him, and he refused Howard's offer. Regarding the Wallowa Valley, Joseph argued with Howard that if the Nez Perce ever owned the land but never sold it, how could the band have agreed to give it up in the treaty of 1863? Howard's frustration at Joseph and the non-treaty Nez Perce finally erupted when Joseph could find no suitable uninhabited land in Idaho. Howard then gave the non-treaty Nez Perce thirty days to move from the Wallowa Valley to the treaty lands in Idaho; failing that, it would be treated as an act of war.

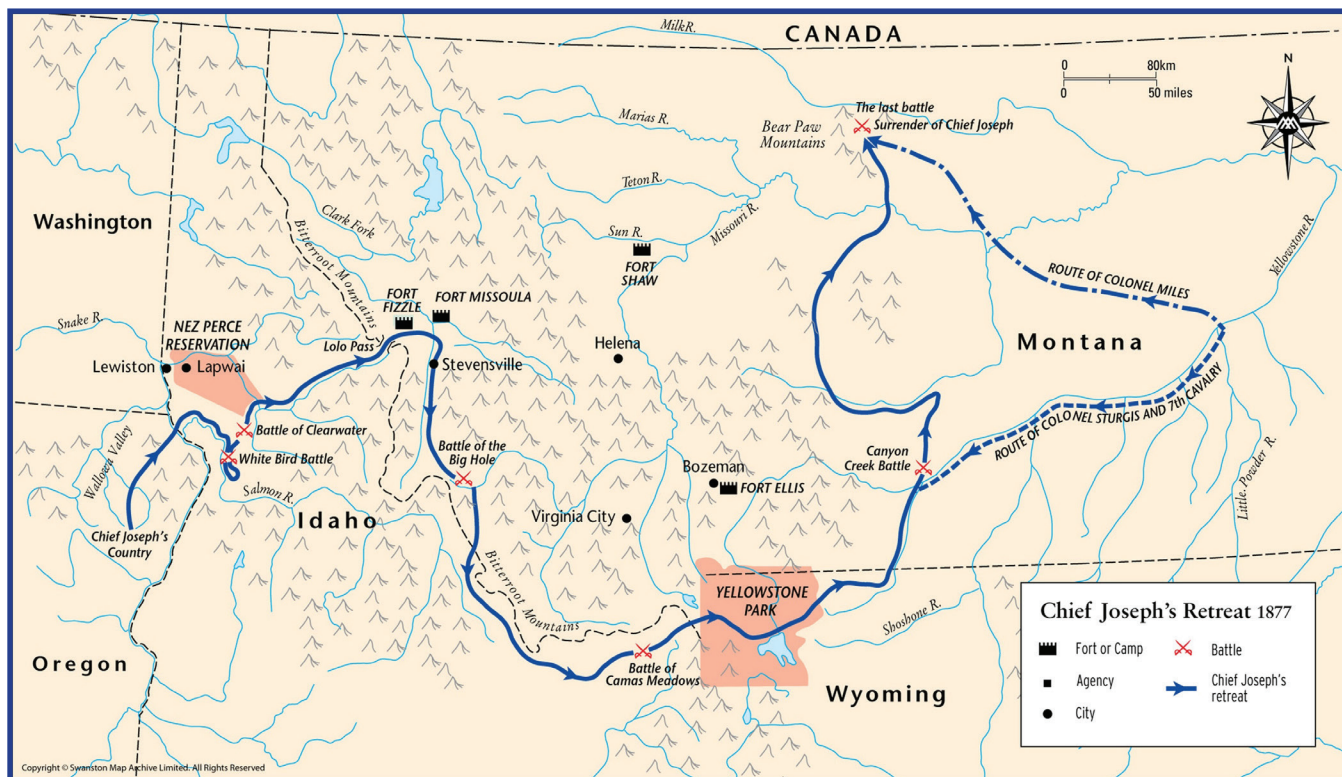
Upon returning home to the Valley, Joseph faced stiff opposition to his plea for peace. It was difficult to consider abandoning his ancestral home, but when weighed against the safety and security of the people that looked to him for leadership, the time had come to remove themselves to treaty lands. While preparing his band to move, some of the younger warriors opposing the move took matters into their own hands. Reversing a 50-year history of never murdering a white person, several Nez Perce killed 18 white men, women and children in the Salmon Valley over a 3- to 4-day period.<sup>8</sup> The die had been cast, the decision to live in peace in Idaho was gone, and Joseph now understood it was time to flee.

## The Long Retreat

General Howard was stationed at Ft. Lapwai and, upon hearing of the massacre in the Salmon Valley, sent two troops of the First Calvary into the area to protect the white settlers and find the perpetrators. The Salmon Valley was the tribe's traditional fishing grounds, and 100 troops were dispatched to that area looking for the hostiles they expected to find there. Because of the long history of peaceful coexistence, thanks to Joseph, the Army was not anticipating much resistance in finding, and then punishing, the Indians responsible for the murderous rampage.

Joseph's scouts provided advance knowledge of the Army's arrival at the canyon where the Joseph band was encamped. Having spent his life in the pursuit of peace, he had no tactical war training or experience. His ability was negotiating with the white man, not making war against them. He was not even his band's war chief; however, White Bird, as events unfolded, was a tactical genius. White Bird and half of his warriors took cover in a stand of trees along one side of the canyon, at a narrow point, and the remainder of the warriors was dispatched to small bluffs overlooking the choke point. Joseph still hoped that a white flag of peace would result in negotiations and a peaceful result. That hope was dashed when the army was ordered to fire first. Tactically, it was a perfect trap, and the First Calvary marched right into the trap this positioning created. The Army sustained significant losses, retreated, and waited for reinforcement. Joseph used the opportunity to cross the Salmon River, affording him a view across the river that could be easily defended and provide a retreat in any direction when needed. Again, White Bird's maneuvers were tactically brilliant.

Initially, the decision was made to flee and join the Crow nation, but the government paid



**“Chief Joseph’s Retreat 1877.” The Map Archive ([www.themaparchive.com](http://www.themaparchive.com))\***

the Crow to offer no solace to the Nez Perce. The Crow warriors thus refused to assist the Nez Perce against an assault by a 2,000-man armed force led by General Howard. Although the Nez Perce at that time consisted of 800 souls, many, too many, were non-combatants.

Even though Joseph had a defensible position and the ability to retreat if necessary, he also knew that General Howard was waiting for reinforcements and artillery, a howitzer and two Gatling guns. Joseph waited for his opportunity to retreat and seized that opportunity when Howard sent troops to engage Looking Glass, who, like White Bird, was a Nez Perce war chief. Looking Glass was moving to join Joseph. Before Howard even realized that Joseph was gone, Joseph was bearing down on the troops sent to neutralize Looking Glass, leaving Howard on the banks of the Salmon River. The Army and Joseph encountered one another at the Cottonwood where both sides sustained heavy casualties. Howard caught up to the merged

Joseph/Looking Glass bands, but he was kept at bay while the non-combatants made their escape, allowing the warriors to follow later, without the slow movement of the non-combatants hindering their escape.

After their escape from certain annihilation, the time had come for the chiefs to meet and decide upon a permanent solution. That council took place at Kamiah Falls, and the decision was made to head north seeking asylum in Canada and refuge with Sitting Bull. Although Joseph struggled to keep his promise to never leave the Wallowa Valley, his obligation to keep his people safe outweighed that promise. At Kamiah Falls, he addressed the gathered council: “I said in my heart I would give up my country. I would give up my father’s grave. I would give up everything rather than have the blood of my people on my hands . . . I love that land more than all the world . . . [a] man who would not defend his father’s grave is worse than a wild beast.”<sup>9</sup>

The council then agreed to flee, understanding that this decision meant they were about to embark on a 1,100-mile trek, certain to be pursued by the Army every mile. During this zigzag retreat, Howard engaged Joseph in 13 separate skirmishes, beginning at White Bird Canyon in June 1877, and including Clearwater, Big Hole, Camas Meadows, Canyon Creek and finally at their surrender in the middle of a Montana snowstorm at Bear Paw Mountains in October 1877. Having started with 800 souls, only 200 of which were warriors, against four different Army units, Joseph's band outmaneuvered and outsmarted a much superior force for months.

The treachery of the Army continued even up to the end, even when the Nez Perce defeat seemed all but assured. Colonel Miles was sent to cut off Joseph's escape through Montana and engaged Joseph at the Bear Paw Mountains on September 30, 1877. Miles arranged a truce to negotiate surrender by Joseph with the understanding that Joseph would agree to be relocated to the reservation in Lapwai, Idaho, previously offered to, and declined by, him. He approached Miles under a flag of truce, but Miles seized him nevertheless. The saga might have ended at that juncture except that Joseph had the foresight to capture one of Miles' officers, forcing Miles to make a prisoner exchange that allowed Joseph to return to his people. Miles knew that Howard was moving to the Bear Paw Mountains, and his ambition drove him to try to end the war before Howard arrived and garner some credit for ending it.

But it was not to end that day. Joseph's band had been decimated by death and by those that ran away seeking better shelter in the raging snowstorm. It was freezing, and Joseph and his people lacked basic necessities. When Howard arrived, he was at first greeted poorly by his subordinate Colonel Miles until Howard assured him that he would allow Joseph to surrender to Miles.<sup>10</sup> According to

the account of his aide-de-camp and adjutant general in the field, Colonel Charles Erskine Scott Wood (then only a Lieutenant), Howard knew that Joseph would surrender when Howard arrived, not only because Howard had a superior force but also because he knew Joseph, and Howard was banking on that relationship, feeling certain that Joseph trusted him.<sup>11</sup> Once Howard arrived, Joseph had determined to surrender with what few tribe members he had left. He would now agree to live on the reservation that Howard had staked out for him in Lapwai, Idaho.

Thus, on the evening of October 5, 1887, about an hour before sunset, Joseph, accompanied by "a picturesque and pathetic little group," rode to Howard's position on a little knoll above the ravine where Joseph made his last stand and offered his rifle to Howard; but Howard motioned to hand it to Miles, and Joseph did as he was instructed and surrendered.<sup>12</sup>

Tragically, Joseph had marched to within forty miles of the Canadian border and freedom, but he could not march any more. His words were captured by Colonel Wood with pencil and paper in hand, as interpreted by Arthur Chapman, who was attached to Howard's service:

**Tell General Howard I know his heart. What he told me before—I have it in my heart. I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed; Looking-glass is dead. Too-hul-hul-suit is dead. The old men are all dead. It is the young men, now, who say "yes" or "no" [making the decisions in councils with other Nez Perce chiefs]. He who led on the young men [referring to Joseph's younger brother, Ollicut; Joseph could not bear to say his name] is dead. It is cold, and we have no**



**blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people—some of them—have run away to the hills, and have no blankets, no food. No one knows where they are—perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children, and to see how many of them I can find; maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever!**<sup>13</sup>

With those words, Joseph indeed fought no more forever. Joseph never again set foot in the country where his father's and mother's bones were buried, his beloved Wallowa Valley.

### Epilogue

Upon surrender, Joseph was assured he and his band were going to be relocated to the Lapwai Reservation that Howard had first promised to him in 1863. In fact, all of the officers present at the surrender were just as certain that the government would honor that promise. It did not. Upon orders issued by General Sherman overruling Howard and Miles, Joseph and 400 of his followers were transported in unheated rail cars to Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas. Joseph was kept at a prisoner-of-war camp at Ft. Leavenworth for about eight months, where his band was mistreated and more members were lost. The following summer, he and the survivors were finally removed to their permanent home, not in Idaho, but to Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. Joseph traveled to Washington, DC, in 1879 to plead with President Rutherford B. Hayes to allow his people to return to Idaho. Opposition in Idaho prevented his return to that state. Eventually, in 1885, he and his remaining band members were permitted to return to the West, but

to the Colville Reservation in Nespelem, Washington.

On that last day before surrender, White Bird and a small part of his band escaped and managed to evade the Army enough to cover that final forty miles and make it to safety in Canada and join Sitting Bull. The generals at Bear Paw Mountain that day were privately held responsible for that escape.

That Joseph had attained a certain degree of fame is an understatement. During his retreat north, he was aided by sympathetic farmers that supplied his band with food and clothing. Additionally, his plight became the subject of numerous newspaper articles in cities along the East Coast. Popular sentiment among the white people of the East was overwhelmingly supportive of this underdog and his mistreatment at the hands of the government, so it is not surprising that he was able to travel to Washington twice to meet with the President and plead his case.

Joseph died in September 1904 and is buried in Nespelem, Washington, where some of the descendants of the Wallowa band of the Nez Perce still reside today.

Charles Erskine Scott Wood befriended Chief Joseph after the Nez Perce War. Once Joseph was finally allowed to return to the West, Wood inquired about sending his own son to live on the Nez Perce reservation in Nespelem, Washington, for a summer. Wood's son was warmly welcomed. When his son was invited to spend a second summer with Joseph, Wood asked his son to inquire of Joseph how he could repay the kindness. Joseph told the young man that they needed a stallion for breeding. That request was unfortunately lost to history upon Joseph's death, but it was referenced in Ken Burns' 1996 documentary of the West and was seen by Wood's descendants. They got together after the release of the documentary and

made it right 104 years later by presenting the descendants of Joseph with a stallion.<sup>14</sup>

From the American Adventure at Epcot in Florida to Eugene, Oregon, and in many states and places in between, Joseph's name and legacy is memorialized in quotes, city names

(such as Joseph, Oregon, in Wallowa County), statues, dams, rivers, mountain passes, scenic byways, creeks, canyons and even a US Savings bond. He may have never returned to his Wallowa Valley home, but his name is remembered today both there and throughout America.

## NOTES

\* "Chief Joseph." Copyright Oregon Historical Society. All Rights Reserved. Many thanks to Elerina Aldamar, Reference Archivist of the Oregon Historical Society, for her invaluable assistance in providing the image of Chief Joseph.

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\*\*\* "Chief Joseph's Retreat 1877." Image courtesy of, and copyright belonging to, The Map Archive ([www.themaparchive.com](http://www.themaparchive.com)). All rights reserved.

1. This event in American history has been reported by dozens of historians, including the major participants themselves, and the fact remains that were you to ask six historians what really occurred in 1877 between the Nez Perce and United States government, you'd get seven different versions. With that in mind, and as the sheer number of sources I consulted in telling this story reveals, I have tried to draw from the facts that seem to be mostly undisputed, but I confess a bias.

In the April and August 1879 issues of *The North American Review*, Chief Joseph and General Oliver O. Howard, respectively, each had an opportunity to document their versions of what actually occurred in 1877. General Howard's defense is particularly noteworthy as he attempts to justify the theft of Indian land as something akin to Manifest Destiny. I have provided citations to each of these accounts in the Bibliography section below. To say that the Nez Perce were treated very poorly by white Americans living in the area and by our government would be a gross understatement. From the point of view of the government, however, the Nez Perce, consisting of perhaps not more than 5,000 souls initially, occupied a land mass larger than New York State. Something was bound to change.

2. Without the presence of troops it is impossible to enforce the laws of the United States on this (the Nez Perce) reserve. The town of "Lewiston" will be built despite the laws and proclamations of officers. The rivers and streams will be cut up with ferries. Squatters will settle down on every patch of arable land. The fences of the Indians will be burned for fire wood by travelers—their horses and cattle will be stolen without redress—whiskey is and will be sold to them without an effort at concealment, and the Indians will be overreached, plundered and destroyed.

— Charles Hutchins, Nez Perce Indian Agent, January 1862.

Mark H. Brown, *The Flight of the Nez Perce* (Lincoln, NE: U of NE Press, 1967), 32.



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3. In his article in the August 1879 issue of *The North American Review*, General Howard indicated that chiefs from 51 different bands of Native Americans were represented and nevertheless concluded that one chief spoke for all of them. General Oliver O. Howard, "The True Story of the Wallowa Campaign," *The North American Review* 129, no. 272 (1879): 53-64, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25100776>.

4. Chester Anders Fee wrote a biography of Chief Joseph which contains a foreword penned by the noted soldier, lawyer, author, historian and friend of Chief Joseph, Charles Erskine Scott Wood, who analyzed the purported consent of Joseph to the 1863 treaty:

Until 1877 the Nez Perce Indians boasted truly that white man's blood had never been shed by them. Their reward was dispossession, exile, bullets and disease, and all because the rulers of white men—politicians—regarded their favor as less valuable than that of a hundred or so white land-grabbers with votes.

The political theories used by the United States to justify this injustice are incongruous and pathetic. Any Indian agent or other person having contact with Indians in their natural state knows that nowhere on the continent, among any tribe whatsoever, was there the thing that we would call "government." Much less was there such an impossible contrivance for them as "representative government." The Indian chiefs were not governors or rulers, but merely outstanding men having influence over their fellows by reason of their age, character, wisdom, experience and deeds. They did not keep order by means of penalties, punishments, or executions. Any member of a tribe, if he chose to do so, was free to disregard and repudiate the expressed wishes of his chief. And if he obeyed the latter in spite of disagreement with his wishes, he was constrained only by respect for his chief and elders and for the traditions and public opinion of the tribe. As for being "represented" by another in council or elsewhere, that was far beyond the Indian's comprehension—not that his comprehension was necessarily more limited than ours, but that he had a totally different conception of and feeling for such things as justice, law, ownership and personality. If an Indian tribe or a group within a tribe should disagree radically with its chief he or they were free to go their own way and work out their own salvation. So far as the chief of one tribe binding by his assent or signature the chiefs and members of other tribes—that would have been much like the governor of Virginia having the power to bind the governor of Massachusetts.

Into this situation of separate and complete autonomies our government and its agents introduced the false ruling that if in a council of chiefs and tribes a majority assented to a proposal the minority present and dissenting were bound by the decision of the majority to conform. The Indians never understood this ruling, much less accepted it as a reality. It ran counter to all their notions of justice, and its effects left them bewildered and resentful. This stupid misconception has left its traces on the entire history of the treatment of the Nez Perce Indians by the United States . . .

At the council which made the treaty of 1855 one particular band of the Nez Perce Indians was represented by Chief Joseph's father, known as "Old Joseph," and he for himself and his band refused consent to the treaty until demands were fully met and the Wallowa Valley was allotted to his people. In the same way and same time territory

outside the present boundaries of the Lapwai Reservation was allotted to Chief White Bird and his band. Never did either of these chiefs give their assent to any modification whatever. Nevertheless, in the interest of the settlers who squatted on the lands so allotted, the titles were taken away from both bands by means of a political arrangement which affirmed that the signature and assent of one Nez Perce chieftain, who had never had anything to do with the original treaty nor the two bands, had bound all the other chiefs and bands to conform to a second treaty. This was justified by the principle of “representation,” although the particular chieftain who signed away the land had been selected by the white politicians expressly for this purpose.

—Col. Charles Erskine Scott Wood

Chester Anders Fee, *Chief Joseph: The Biography of a Great Indian, with a Foreword by Colonel Charles Erskine Scott Wood* (New York: Wilson-Erickson Inc., 1936), xii.

5. Suppose a white man should come to me and say, “Joseph, I like your horses, and I want to buy them.” I say to him, “No, my horses suit me, I will not sell them.” Then he goes to my neighbor, and says to him: “Joseph has some good horses. I want to buy them, but he refuses to sell.” My neighbor answers, “Pay me the money, and I will sell you Joseph’s horses.” The white man returns to me, and says, “Joseph, I have bought your horses, and you must let me have them.” If we sold our lands to the Government, this is the way they were bought.

—Chief Joseph, 1879.

Young Joseph and William H. Hare, “An Indian’s Views of Indian Affairs,” *The North American Review* 128, no. 269 (1879): 419-420, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25100745>.

6. As reported to Bishop William H. Hare and published in the April 1879 issue of *The North American Review*. Young Joseph and William H. Hare, “An Indian’s Views of Indian Affairs,” *The North American Review* 128, no. 269 (1879): 419, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25100745>.

7. It’s interesting to note that Joseph had a very different understanding about this meeting than did General Howard. For example, the Joseph delegation included an old chief named Too-hul-hul-sote, a religious leader to Joseph and the Nez Perce. From Joseph’s perspective, he was arrested by Howard for speaking badly of the white man at this meeting and subsequently let go when the Joseph delegation left after surveying the new reservation that was to be set aside for them. Howard, however, recalling the meeting at a later date, had a much different version:

The old man was very angry and said “What person pretends to divide land and put me on it?” I answered: “I am the man.” Then among the Indians all about me signs of anger began to appear. Looking-Glass dropped his gentle style and made rough answers; White Bird, hiding his face behind that eagle wing, said he had not been brought up to be governed by white men, and Joseph began to finger his tomahawk and his eyes flashed. Too-hul-hul-sote said fiercely: “The Indians may do as they like, I am not going on that land.”

Then I spoke to them. I told them I was going to look at the vacant land and they should come with me. The old man, Too-hul-hul-sote, should stay at the fort with the colonel till we come back. He rose and cried: “Do you want to frighten me about my body?” But I

said: "I will leave you with the colonel," and at a word a soldier led the brave old fellow out of the tent and gave him to a guard. Then Joseph quieted the Indians and agreed to go with me. We did not hasten our ride, but started after a few days. We then rode over forty miles together . . .

After riding all over the country the Indians called it a good country, and they agreed to come and live there. The land was staked out, and Too-hul-hul-sote set free, and it was arranged that in thirty days all the outside Indians should be on the reservation, and we parted the best of friends.

—General Howard

Major General O. O. Howard, *Famous Indian Chiefs I Have Known* (New York: Century Co., 1908), 192-194.

8. That this attack on the first white man murdered was in retaliation for the murder of that brave's father by the murder victim several years earlier was lost on the Army. This white man was never convicted for the murder of the Indian, and the rebellious members of the Nez Perce thought it was now time to do what the Army refused to do, punish the murderer.

9. Young Joseph and William H. Hare, "An Indian's Views of Indian Affairs," *The North American Review* 128, no. 269 (1879): 419, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25100745>.

10. Miles was not without political clout. His father-in-law was a US Senator, Senator Sherman, and his uncle-in-law was none other than General William Tecumseh Sherman, General of the Union Army in the Civil War.

11. Colonel Charles Erskine Scott Wood was an accomplished lawyer and writer, and much of what we now know about Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War was the fortuitous result of Wood's association with Joseph as Howard's aide-de-camp at all of the important events during the Nez Perce War and later when his son was invited to spend two summers with Joseph. They had great respect for one another.

12. Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1997), 629.

13. Colonel Charles Erskine Scott Wood, "Chief Joseph, The Nez-Perce," *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* May 1884 to October 1884 (New York: The Century Co., 1884), 141.

14. My thanks to famed Western photographer Leon Werdinger ([www.leonwerdinger.com](http://www.leonwerdinger.com)) of Joseph, Oregon, for relating this story to me. <http://community.seattletimes.nwsources.com/archive/?date=19970728&slug=2551837>.

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“Treat all men alike.  
Give them the same law.  
Give them an even chance  
to live and grow.”  
—Chief Joseph